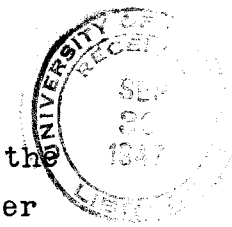
Human Events *A Weekly Analysis for the American Citizen*
Editorial Office 1323 M STREET, WASHINGTON 5, D. C. *Telephone* NATIONAL 2066
VOL. IV, NO. 39, *Issue Number* 191, SEPTEMBER 24, 1947 ★ *Editors:* FELIX MORLEY & FRANK C. HANIGHEN



VISHINSKY LIFTS THE VEIL

by Felix Morley

Bewilderment, coupled with increased disillusion, has been the general reaction of the American people to Deputy Foreign Minister Vishinsky's vitriolic attack on this country, delivered at the General Assembly of the United Nations last week. An extensive survey of editorial and radio comment discloses that such adjectives as "fantastic" and "incomprehensible" and "reckless" dominate in the attempts to explain this "harangue".

It should be realized that Vishinsky's speech was actually a carefully-prepared, well-timed and at least partially effective contribution to the Communist effort to undermine American strength. The obvious purpose of the Soviet spokesman was to block Secretary Marshall's effort to overcome the paralysis of the United Nations. The deeper intent was to spread uncertainty and confusion among the American people. Here Vishinsky may happily have overshot the mark. But there should be no misunderstanding as to what he was seeking to accomplish.

The ineluctable fact, which well-meaning people naturally dislike to face, is that the Kremlin must destroy the American system of government in order to achieve its central purpose of world revolution. The able men who direct Communist policy, of whom Vishinsky is one, are absolutely ruthless and inflexible in this major aim. Their tactics vary, from day to day and place to place; but their underlying strategy, never.

Official Communist literature supports this statement so completely that there should not be need to substantiate it. Indeed there is a measure of truth in that arrogant statement in the program of the Communist International, which says: "The Communists distain to conceal their views and aims." Deception is often unnecessary, for the kindly disposition of the American people has combined with the fatuous ignorance of their wartime leadership to play into Stalin's hands.

At the eleventh hour, however, Comrade Vishinsky has unintentionally done us a great service. He has rather too obviously revealed the Communist contempt for our mentality.

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The Statutes of the Communist International, adopted in Moscow in August, 1920, establish the policy, now in worldwide operation, for the destruction of constitutional government:

> "In order to overthrow the international bourgeoisie and to create an international Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the State, the Communist International will use all means at its disposal, including force of arms."

The sensational climax of this statement -- the threat of armed force -- is by no means its most important part. Americans have been so "conditioned" to the spectacular that the significance of any idea requiring intellectual effort, such as this long-range project for making the United States a part of the Soviet Union, is habitually overlooked. That is why the slapdash diplomatic improvisation of the New Deal was such a pushover for Stalin.

The equally shrewd thinkers who preceded Stalin never regarded their success of thirty years ago, when they captured the Russian government, as more than a good starting point. In August, 1917, a few weeks before the Bolsheviks seized power, Lenin wrote, in the preface to his State and Revolution:

> "It is clear that an international proletarian revolution is preparing. Therefore the question of its relation to the State is acquiring a practical importance."

Even then, Lenin was thinking in terms of a practical political philosophy with a tradition and thought-content comparable to our own. A full century ago, in the brilliant Communist Manifesto of 1848, Marx and Engels had compiled a list of "despotic inroads on the rights of property" which Communists should urge the State to take as the first step towards its eventual destruction. Four of the first seven measures listed by Karl Marx should be of particular interest to "New" Dealers:

> "A heavy progressive, or graduated, income tax."
> "Abolition of all right of inheritance."
> "Centralization of credit in the hands of the State."
> "Extension of instruments of production owned by the State."

The "first step in the revolution", concludes the Communist Manifesto of 1848, is "to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State". When the capitalist system, in every industrial nation, has thus been undermined, the anarchic Nineteenth Century pattern of independent governments can then more easily be replaced by a universal Socialist federation and the State will "wither away".

That famous phrase of Engels has been the subject of some rather ill-informed jibes since the Communists, in addition to advancing

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Socialism everywhere, successfully established Soviet Russia as a formidable military power. Whatever else may have withered away in Russia it is certainly not the State! Never has there been a more powerful bureaucracy; more firmly entrenched; more dictatorial.

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Lenin, in theory, and Stalin, in practice, have resolved that seeming paradox, in a manner which has made the joke somewhat sour. In State and Revolution Lenin explains that during the transition period from capitalism to Communism the first proletarian State (Russia) must be built up as a State for its life-and-death struggle with necessarily hostile bourgeois governments. But as the forces of social revolution triumph over the latter, those States will actually "wither away" because their citizens will no longer be self-governed, but dominated by a single centralized supranational organization -- the Comintern.

If this argument seems academic, consideration may helpfully be given to the actual situation today in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia. In greater or less degree these eleven European States have already "withered away", either through outright incorporation in the Soviet Union or by the reduction of their nominal independence to a fiction. A chief reason for maintaining this fiction of independence, of course, is that it strengthens the Communist sabotage which has already made a mockery of the "United Nations".

The great skill with which the Communists have employed the machinery of this organization in behalf of the objective of world revolution is only now beginning to receive attention. On the one hand, during two years in which time was of the essence, the United Nations has been steadily blocked in every effort to accomplish the economic and political reconstruction which it was expected to forward. On the other hand, the Communists have most skillfully utilized U.N. machinery for such purposes as the promotion of social revolution in Spain.

It must be admitted, moreover, that until Secretary Marshall took office, the Government of the United States did almost everything in its power to strengthen that Communist grip on the operations of the United Nations which will not now be easily pried loose. One may recall Mr. Roosevelt's secret agreement to give the Soviet Union three seats and voices (Russia, Byelorussia, Ukraine) in the Assembly, even aside from those allocated to such satellites as Poland and Yugoslavia. One may also recall the mystifying but successful campaign to locate the seat of the organization in New York, an important Communist outpost which now no longer finds secret communication with Moscow difficult.

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So Andrei Vishinsky, who has long been in the inner circle of Communist policy makers, is scarcely to be blamed if he has concluded that the American bourgeoisie is really the "booboisie" which Mencken called it, and has overplayed his hand in the following particulars:

(1) By demanding that the current Assembly adopt a resolution abridging the rights of freedom of speech and press, in violation of the Constitution of the United States.

(2) By condemning the American press in general for "capitalistic war-mongering", on the strength of the realistic attention now being belatedly given to the scope of Russia's worldwide aggression.

(3) By indicting a number of great American corporations, such as General Electric, as "capitalist monopolies", thereby helping to reveal the constant Russian objective of discrediting the capitalist system.

(4) By asserting that there are "close connections" between these "monopolies" and "members of the Government", without bothering to give any evidence in support of the charge.

(5) By citing CIO propaganda as authoritative data on the profits of "monopolies", thereby giving Americans a helpful hint as to the reliance which the Communist Party places on the CIO.

(6) By defining references to Russia's instigation of social revolution as "slanderous demagogy", on the somewhat naive assumption that non-Communist Americans have never troubled to read any of the abundant official Russian literature advocating that revolution.

(7) By attributing the "crazy idea" of world domination to American leadership at the very moment when Russia is moving rapidly ahead, from China to Italy, with well-drawn plans for that very end.

In the program of the Communist International we read that: "The ultimate aim . . . is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of Communism." As a tactical maneuver the Comintern was ostensibly "dissolved" during the war. But its very real vitality, and its significant decision to utilize the United Nations as a medium for its work, were both revealed by Mr. Vishinsky in his speech last week. It is the utilization of this forum for direct attack upon our political, economic and social system which makes that speech so notable.

The Statutes, the Constitution and the Program of the Communist International have been published together by HUMAN EVENTS, under the title of Blueprint for World Conquest. Orders or inquiries in regard to this indispensible source book should be addressed to Human Events Associates, 608 South Dearborn St., Chicago 5, Illinois. Price $3.50, postpaid.

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Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events VOL. IV, NO. 39

By Frank C. Hanighen September 24, 1947

The House Un-American Activities Investigating Committee has so far failed to probe into one very interesting field -- royalties from sale of books and works of art in the Soviet Union, reportedly a great source of income for the fellow-travelling brethren. In the literary world, it is well-known that certain American authors who toe the party line have enjoyed rich revenues from Russian translations of their books. It is likewise known that other authors whose books have been published in Russia receive no royalties at all.

The Soviet book publishing industry operates on a basis vastly different from the book business in Western democratic countries. In Britain and France, a private firm contracts for rights to publish an American book. If the British and French customers like and buy the volume, revenue accrues to the author in royalties. In Russia, the book is simply taken by the State publishing house without any such contractual arrangements, and the Russian publishing house pays the foreign author if it feels like it. Books thus pirated are paid for if the author's work displays the proper shade of red; otherwise ---- no party line, no valuta.

Also, in Russia, the customer has little to say about the books he "purchases". The State publishing house decides just how many copies the libraries and book stores must buy. It can "sell" ten thousand, one hundred thousand, millions, as it sees fit. In short, there is a premium on fidelity to the party line not only for Russian, but also for non-Russian authors. This fact may help to explain the political position of many a Union Square scribe.

This medium of rewarding the American faithful is not confined to writers. Sculptors, painters, musicians and artists of other crafts have profited from the clientele in the Soviet motherland. Indeed, if the House Committee should make such an investigation, it might yield some highly instructive information about the influence of the Soviet Union on trends in the American journalistic, literary and artistic world. From there the House Committee might go on to inquire as to how strictly the present Foreign Agents Registration Act is enforced.

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The Fourth National Decentralist Conference will be held at Fairfield, Iowa, on October 24 and 25. Any of our readers who can attend will, to a certainty, enjoy a warm welcome and a most interesting program. Tom Shearer, acting President of Parsons College, at Fairfield, is handling the details.

Glancing over the preliminary program, and wishing we could be there at least for the Harvest Festival at the close of the Conference, the following caught our eye: "The exension of the powers of government arises, not only under Socialism and Communism, but also under a program of interventionism. In the latter case the government is regularly intervening by the use of its police powers in the ordinary activities of the people. . . ."

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Of course some passing illustration of such intolerable intervention will automatically spring to mind. Consider the case of a man named Olsen, in Oregon, who had a fluorescent device which he deemed good for his health, but which some Federal official recently decided should be confiscated. Sam Pettingill tells the story admirably, in his Release No. 900, obtainable from him at America's Future, Inc.,

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210 E. 43 Street, New York 17: ". . . a man named Olsen, of full age and sound mind, had paid for and brought into his home an apparatus which he thought would prevent or cure disease by flooding his room with various colors. I pause to ask whether dancers feel happier and gayer when various lights flood the dance hall? And haven't you felt some wholesome magic in the autumn when the very air seems golden beneath the bronze and scarlet leaves? I'm not defending Mr. Olsen's gadget, but I do defend his right to have it as long as he thinks it does him good. A very wise man, Justice Brandeis, once said that the men who wrote our Constitution 'conferred, as against the Government, the right to be let alone -- the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized men'.

"Judge McColloch ruled in favor of citizen Olsen and against the United States of America which taxes you to pay the salaries of its meddlesome Matties. He ordered the U. S. Marshal to return the gadget to Olsen. The Judge said: 'To me, the wisdom of the ages means nothing if this humble citizen can be compelled, against his will, to yield access to his home to Federal officers to take from him and destroy a mechanical object, perfectly harmless in itself, which he thinks (whether rightly or wrongly makes no difference) is beneficial to him. . . .

"'Many years, generations now, have been devoted to demonstrating that man is often his own best doctor. . . . It would be stirring old waters, long calm, to review the successful struggle of healing groups and faiths, unconventional in their time, by majority standards. . . . Without intending to give offense, I think no such proposition of paternal right in the field of public health has been advanced in modern times. . . . I have preferred to meet head-on and to discuss the questions of security of one's dwelling and of personal liberty, which I regard as the true issues in this case. I have done this because I gained the impression during the war, and the impression has been strengthened since hostilities ended, that it is time for Federal judges to dust off the Constitution.'" [F.M.]

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Legislators are on the warpath against the Indian Bureau and there is a movement in Washington to close the Bureau and turn the Indians loose from the reservations and into the main stream of American life. This development is prompted in large part by a desire for economy. But also there is a feeling that the present system of wardship offers nothing constructive. Senator Hugh Butler (Nebr.) has introduced nine bills proposing that the tribal property of about 50,000 Indians be distributed among them and that they be freed from Federal tutelage. Others want to eliminate the Bureau entirely and let the Indians shift for themslves. A correspondent in the southwest writes us as follows:

"The Indian Bureau has done a bad job. Instead of preparing the Indians for full-fledged participation in American life they have tried to keep them in a backward condition. Education in many reservations has been inadequate and badly conducted. The economic life of some tribes has been dangerously impaired by the Bureau's policy, and they need food assistance this year. On the other hand, those who want to end the present status without further delay are terribly wrong. Their proposal if carried out would work harm not only to the Indians but also to neighboring communities of white people.

"My idea is a compromise. I think many of the tribes, like the Oklahoma Osages, for example, can assume self-responsibility right now and should be freed immediately from Federal wardship. Others, like most of the Navajos, have not received sufficient education for assimilation as yet. Other reasons for keeping this category provisionally in wardship are: (1) the economy of their reservations has been damaged by Indian Bureau policy so that they could not support themselves; (2) Freedom without education might lead to racial tensions with white neighbors. But these backward Indians, I emphasize, are potentially good citizens and if properly trained would make a fine contribution to American life.

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"Therefore, let us take the funds saved from liquidation of reservations of the Osages, etc. and apply them intelligently to the preparation of backward tribes for citizenship. Build down the Indian Bureau while gradually building up, educating and releasing the backward tribes."

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One of the principal Existentialist writers, Albert Camus, talks of "The Century of Fear", in a recent issue of Politics: "The 17th century was the century of mathematics, the 18th that of the physical sciences and the 19th that of biology. Our 20th century is the century of fear. I will be told that fear is not a science. But science must be somewhat involved since its latest theoretical advances have brought it to the point of negating itself while its perfected technology threatens the globe itself with destruction. Moreover, although fear itself cannot be considered a science, it is certainly a technique.

"The most striking feature of the world we live in is that most of its inhabitants -- with the exception of pietists of various kinds -- are cut off from the future. Life has no validity unless it can project itself toward the future, can ripen and progress. . . . This is not the first time, of course, that men have confronted a future materially closed to them. But hitherto they have been able to transcend the dilemma by words, by protests, by appealing to other values which lent them hope. Today no one speaks any more (except those who repeat themselves) because history seems to be in the grip of blind and deaf forces which will heed neither cries of warning, nor advice, nor entreaties. The years we have just gone through have killed something in us. And that something is simply the old confidence man had in himself, which led him to believe that he could always elicit human reactions from another man in the language of common humanity. . . .

"Mankind's long dialogue has just come to an end. And naturally a man with whom one cannot reason is a man to be feared. The result is that -- besides those who have not spoken out because they thought it useless -- a vast conspiracy of silence has spread all about us, a conspiracy accepted by those who are frightened and who rationalize their fears in order to hide them from themselves, a conspiracy fostered by those whose interest it is to do so. 'You should not talk about the Russian culture purge -- it helps reaction. . . .' Fear is certainly a technique."

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It could also be argued, however, that "Freedom from Fear", to quote one of the cliches of a much-publicized American, can also be a technique. Certainly President Roosevelt's use of the phrase was calculated to make Americans believe that ardent support of him would of itself bring the millenium closer. In the light of current events it is even helpful to recall the pathetic acclaim accorded Mr. Roosevelt when he returned from the sell-out at Yalta and told Congress that:

"I come from the Crimean Conference, my fellow Americans, with a firm belief that we have made a good start on the road to a world of peace."

A little more fear of their political leadership at that time might have meant a great deal less fear among our people today. [F.M.]

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A German scholar, now living in retirement in this country, has called our attention to an error in our weekly ANALYSIS for August 20, entitled "The Balkan Federation". Referring to the Congress of Berlin, in 1878, this article asserted that it was summoned by Great Britain. Our correspondent writes:

"It was, of course, Bismarck who initiated the Congress of Berlin to prevent a conflagration in the Balkans. Later he called his policy of avoiding conflict between England and Russia his greatest mistake. If it had not been for his constructive and pacifistic policy in that respect, Germany would not have been involved in the war of 1914." [F.M.]

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Book Events

Rehearsal for Conflict, by Alfred Hoyt Bill. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $4.50.
Reviewed by J. M. Lalley.

One of the great and apparently ineradicable causes of war is the belief which persists among the people of almost every nation that they are distinguished above others by their devotion to peace and abhorrence of aggression. Among those who cherish this fond fallacy are the Americans, although it is of course contradicted by the whole tendency of their history to the end of the Nineteenth Century. Indeed, after reckoning the number of foreign conflicts in which this Nation has engaged, and the extent to which it has thereby multiplied its territorial dominion, a strong case could be made for the thesis that the American spirit is imperial.

At any rate Mr. Alfred Hoyt Bill's book, Rehearsal for Conflict, which deals with the historically important but little-studied episode of the Mexican War of 1846–48, comes as a reminder that statesmen no less than others can delude themselves about their pacific purposes while they go about the business of precipitating war. It was certainly not President Polk's intention, as his diaries show, to provoke a war with the Mexicans; he was merely resolved that Texas must be admitted to the Union and adamant about the question of her boundries. It was to protect the frontier and not to open hostilities that he sent an "army of observation" under General Taylor to the Rio Grande del Norte; it was by way of sensible precaution that he hurried along the settlement of the dispute with Great Britain over the Oregon boundary. It was only when the Mexicans remained obdurate, when they refused even to receive his emissary, Mr. Slidell, that Mr. Polk called upon Congress for a declaration of war to legalize the shooting that had already broken out on the frontier and to bring the Mexicans to reason. And it was in the interest of hastening peace that he encouraged and aided the dethroned dictator, General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, in his plans for returning to power; it was hardly Mr. Polk's fault that Santa Anna, once back in Mexico, forgot about his promise to stop the war and to make a treaty, and placed himself instead at the head of the resisting forces. The truth is that the Mexicans, disordered as they were, and had been since the expulsion of the Spaniards, by anarchy and successive revolutions, confidently anticipated the victory, and in this they were at one with the best European diplomatic and military opinion. The Times, of London, commented sarcastically about the audacity of a nation which supposed it could wage a war of invasion and conquest "without an army and without credit."

The Mexicans, who had apparently been deceived by the speeches of the Whig politicians, supposed that a war of annexation would be unpopular among the American people; in this, too, they were grievously mistaken. In the Senate only Davis of Massachusetts and Clayton of Delaware voted against the bill appropriating $10,000,000 (a rather substantial sum in those days) for the prosecution of the war and authorizing the President to call 50,000 volunteers. The volunteers were quickly forthcoming, as the wave of martial enthusiasm swept the country. Some of the enthusiasm presently evaporated in the pestilential camp at Camargo, more of it in the fearful forced marches; but enough remained to carry the armies, despite the blunders of their commanders, to victory after victory.

Mr. Bill to be sure does not moralize much about these matters. He views the Mexican War and its strange cast of characters chiefly in their relation to the more terrible manfestation of the martial spirit that burst forth a dozen years later. His narrative method is much the same as he employed in The Beleagured City, a record of life in Richmond in the tragic years between 1860 and 1865. If the method is somewhat less effective here, it is doubtless because he has been obliged to enlarge his focus; to diffuse his reader's interest over a more complex scene.

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